

Angola: The Growing UNITA Insurgency

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An Intelligence Assessment

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An Intelligence Assessment

This paper was prepared by	Office of	25 X 1
African and Latin American Analy	ysis, with research	
assistance from	Office of	25 X 1
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Directorate of Operations and the	National	
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	Angola: The Growing UNITA Insurgency	25X1
Key Judgments Information available as of 1 June 1983 was used in this report.	Since last October, Jonas Savimbi's South African-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) has enjoyed greater military success than at any time in the past.	25 X 1
	The insurgents have virtually doubled the territory they control in Angola's southeastern quadrant. UNITA's forces in this sparsely inhabited region have been increasingly using conventional military methods rather than purely guerrilla tactics	25X1
	In more populous central Angola, UNITA has intensified its guerrilla operations, isolated a number of government-held positions, and seized Western and Communist foreign aid personnel as hostages. The guerrillas have also stepped up their forays into the northern third of the country, where they have successfully attacked key transportation links and other targets.	25 X 1
·	 There are several reasons for UNITA's growing success: The insurgent group has been expanding in recent years. It has benefited from strong leadership, high morale, and good discipline and organization. South Africa's already substantial aid has probably increased. Other key factors underlying UNITA's success are the growing military, 	1 1
	economic, and political weaknesses that plague the Soviet- and Cuban-backed Marxist regime in Luanda.	25X1
		25x16
		25X1 25X1
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		25X1
	We believe UNITA may be able to take some additional territory during the next several months. Its next major gains could come in the northeast, where the Angolans and Cubans do not have a strong military presence.	25 X 1
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	The insurgents, in our judgment, will find it more difficult to make major	
	new advances in the other regions in the immediate future because of the	
	presence of sizable Angolan and Cuban troop concentrations. In the	
	southeast, we expect UNITA forces during the next few months to	
	concentrate on consolidating their recent gains and on preparing to defend	
	against a possible government-Cuban counteroffensive. UNITA also is	
	likely to continue guerrilla operations in central Angola.	25V
	nkely to continue guerrina operations in central Angola.	25 X
	We half that I INTERAL the state of the state o	•
	We believe that UNITA's successes since late last year have made it even	
	more difficult than before for the Luanda regime to contemplate sending	
	the Cubans home—a precondition for a settlement of the Namibian	
	problem—in the absence of some sort of UNITA-MPLA accommodation.	
	Soviet-backed hardliners in the MPLA appear to be preventing any serious	
	negotiations with UNITA.	25X
	Yet, there remains a possibility—considering the acute economic and	
	military pressures besetting the dos Santos regime—of a breakthrough in	
	the Namibia negotiations that includes an Angolan commitment to a	
	phased withdrawal of Cuban military personnel. If a Cuban withdrawal	
	were to occur without an end to the UNITA-MPLA war, we believe the in-	
	surgents would make significant military gains. Just how far UNITA	
	would advance in such circumstances would depend on whether some	
	Cubans remained, on whether they played active combat roles, and on	051/
	South African actions.	25 X
	A total Cuban withdrawal, in our view, probably would paralyze the	
	Angolan Army and enable UNITA to win the war outright in the absence	
	of a UNITA-MPLA accommodation.	25X
		25X
	We believe that even if Namibia became independent, depriving South	
	Africa of the ability to use Namibian territory, Pretoria would probably	
	find a way to continue assisting Savimbi. And even if South Africa were to	
	stop providing aid, we believe the well-organized, highly motivated insur-	
	gents would pose a formidable threat to any MPLA regime that no longer	
	enjoyed Cuban protection.	25 X
	onjoyed Cavan protection.	25/
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Angola: The Growing UNITA Insurgency		25 X ′
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Introduction Since last October, Jonas Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) has enjoyed greater military success than ever before. The	In the next few months they advanced steadily northward and overran several small towns and garrisons between Lumbala and the Benguela Railroad. Several government garrisons that were too strong to be assaulted were surrounded and isolated.	25X1
insurgents now control the southeastern quadrant of Angola, have isolated several key government positions in the central part of the country, and have stepped up raids and sabotage in the government-dominated north.	Western journalists witnessed two of the battles during this campaign—at Cangonga and Munhango. They reported that regular UNITA battalions mounted well-planned operations against the garrisons at	25X ²
dominated north.	both towns. Some government troops were killed—at	
	least 200 defenders were reported killed at Cangonga, for example—while others fled. UNITA's forces looted and destroyed the captured garrisons and then	25 X 1
We believe UNITA's gains have made Luanda even more uneasy about agreeing to a	withdrew to avoid possible government counterattacks.	25 X ′
withdrawal of all Cuban combat forces from Ango- la—a precondition insisted upon by South Africa		25X6
before it will remove its own forces from neighboring		25X1
Namibia and grant independence to that territory.		25X ²
This was a second of the secon		25X
This paper discusses UNITA's recent successes, their impact on the Luanda government, and the insurgents' prospects for further gains.	By April, the insurgents had gained control of most of Moxico Province, thus virtually doubling the area under their domination. According to the journalists	 25X′
Recent Insurgent Gains: Operations on Three Fronts	who observed some of the fighting, UNITA relied primarily on conventional or semiconventional military tactics, as had been its pattern in the southeast	
	for the past several years.	25X
UNITA has been expanding its area of control in the sparsely populated southeast since the late 1970s. In central Angola—where most of UNITA's ethnic support is concentrated—it has been conducting guerrilla		25X1
operations for an even longer period. UNITA		
has also been sending patrols and raiding parties into parts of northern Angola for several years. Starting late last year, UNITA operations on all these fronts became bolder and more intensive.	Since April, UNITA appears to have concentrated on consolidating its hold over the newly captured territory rather than trying to push farther to the north and	257
	·	25 X ²
Expansion in the Southeast UNITA forces began moving out from their bases in Cuando Cubango Province last October. They cap- tured an Angolan garrison at Lumbala in November.		
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		25 X 1

off, and there are shortages of key supplies. Only the presence of sizable Cuban and Angolan forces in and around Huambo prevents the guerrillas from overrunning the city.

The guerrillas have carried out several fairly dramatic operations this year in west-central Angola. These operations seem aimed in part at attracting public attention at home and abroad and at convincing

UNITA's attacks on the line have forced neighboring Zaire and Zambia to use alternate routes for most of their foreign trade in recent years, thus increasing their dependence on transportation links through South Africa as well as depriving Luanda of muchneeded foreign exchange.

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Since late last year UNITA has also stepped up its forays into the northern third of the country. Guerrilla operations in this region are generally conducted by raiding parties or sabotage teams that go in to attack a specific target and then return to central or southern	JNITA's Growing Strength and Potency JNITA claims, privately and publicly, to have rough- y 35,000 fighters—15,000 regular troops and 20,000 rregulars or guerrillas—and to be capable of training ,500 men every three months. These figures repre- ent a substantial increase since 1981, when the	
· re	nsurgents claimed to have a total of 20,000 to 25,000 25X egulars and irregulars. Many of UNITA's irregulars are unarmed and are used as bearers or auxiliaries	(1
	luring operations. 25X	(1
gents' main source of support. The region, moreover, is relatively distant from the insurgents' bases and supply lines in the southeast. The insurgents, however, apparently hope to capitalize on local antipathy toward the Angolan Government to build UNITA's	25X	(1
popular support in the north.	25X 25X	
Guerrilla operations in the north have focused in recent months on the road and rail lines that traverse the relatively populous Malange area and the diamond-mining region in the northeast. Important	25X	, 1
guerrilla operations have included the destruction of a key bridge west of the diamond-mining zone around		. I
Saurimo and a number of attacks on rail facilities and roads around the city of Malange.	25X	(1
We lack reliable information on the current status of the diamond industry—Angola's second-largest	25X	(1
earner of foreign exchange after crude oil. On the basis of fragmentary evidence, however, we believe	More South African Aid	
that diamond production has been seriously hurt by	We believe South African assistance to UNITA	
	orobably increased before and during the period of 25X JNITA's recent advances.	
Reasons for Insurgents' Success	25X	(1
In our judgment, UNITA's gains since last October are due to the cumulative impact of the insurgents' growing strength and prowess, South Africa's substantial and probably rising assistance, and the Angolan Government's severe military, economic, and		

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political weaknesses.

A Charismatic Leader

Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, founder, president, commander in chief, and unchallenged leader of UNITA, was born on 3 August 1934 of Ovimbundu parents in Munhango, central Angola. His father was a station master for the Benguela Railroad and also worked as a Protestant missionary in the predominantly Catholic colony. Savimbi studied medicine in Lisbon in 1959 and political science in Switzerland starting in 1960. His studies were interrupted by periods of political and insurgent activity in Africa, but he eventually earned a degree in political and legal science from the University of Lausanne in 1965.

Savimbi was a member of Holden Roberto's Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA) from 1962 to 1964, when he broke away and tried unsuccessfully to gain admission to the Marxist-oriented Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). He founded UNITA in 1966. He accepted a cease-fire agreement with the Portuguese in 1974, formed a short-lived front with Roberto against the MPLA in 1975, and has been waging war against the Marxist MPLA regime for the past eight years.

Savimbi does not seem firmly wedded to any particular ideological orientation. In recent years he has described himself as a moderate Socialist and has espoused pro-Western, anti-Communist positions as well as economic policies that combine socialism and free enterprise. Savimbi has also propounded a philosophy of black power or "Negritude," probably in part as a reaction to the role played within the MPLA regime by Marxist-oriented mulattos. He has insisted that his approach is not "racist" and that he is simply arguing for having blacks, who comprise the vast majority of the Angolan population, hold the key positions in any Angolan regime.

Savimbi is said to

favor seeking a political settlement in which UNITA would be given a major role in a coalition regime. The differences within UNITA over goals appear to break down along age lines, with older, more politically sensitive leaders favoring a political settlement and younger, more militant troop commanders calling for total victory.

UNITA seems to lack other figures with Savimbi's personal appeal and exceptional leadership abilities, and his removal would be a severe setback. We do not believe UNITA would disappear, but it would be considerably weakened, at least temporarily. Ultimately, it could emerge as a more inflexible movement seeking an all-out military victory rather than a negotiated solution. UNITA might also become more heavily influenced by South Africa without a leader of Savimbi's stature to maintain a degree of independence.

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UNITA:	History	and	Prosent	Status
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Jonas Savimbi founded UNITA on 23 March 1966 after breaking with Holden Roberto's Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA). UNITA initially operated from bases in Zambia and maintained a headquarters in Lusaka.

UNITA grew rapidly because of energetic organizing among Savimbi's fellow Ovimbundu and some eastern Angolan tribes. It nonetheless remained smaller and weaker than the Zairian- and Western-backed FNLA and the Soviet-supported Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

Zambia expelled Savimbi and his followers in 1967 because of Portuguese pressure. In 1968 Savimbi infiltrated into Angola and established a headquarters in its sparsely populated southeast. UNITA's main theater of operations, however, was the more populous central highlands, where the Ovimbundu tribe, comprising about 40 percent of Angola's population of around 7 million, predominates

In February 1976, after UNITA had been militarily defeated by the newly installed Soviet- and Cubanbacked MPLA regime in Luanda, Savimbi led a return to the bush to rebuild the movement. Some 1,500 ill-equipped guerrillas retreated to southeastern Angola. In the ensuing years UNITA gradually established its control over most of Cuando Cubango Province in the southeast and carried on a guerrilla war in central Angola.

Savimbi has remained UNITA's unchallenged leader. A 17-member Politburo is the top party organ. The leading officials after Savimbi are Secretary General Miguel Puna and the military Chief of Staff, Demostenes Chilingutila. Puna is a Cabindan, and the UNITA leadership includes a few other non-Ovimbundus as well.

We estimate, on the basis of UNITA claims and other evidence, that UNITA's army—the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FALA)—includes some 15,000 regular troops and 20,000 guerrillas. Military operations are directed by a Strategic Operations Command led by Savimbi and senior commanders.

^a The FNLA, which operated in northern Angola, has been virtually moribund in recent years as a result of factional quarrels and curtailment of Zairian support.

Within the area of control, UNITA has set up a functioning government with an array of rudimentary but well-run health and educational services and agricultural enterprises, according to Western journalists who have visited the region.

UNITA's area of expansion—the northern third of the country—has no permanent insurgent presence. We believe the insurgents may soon move to establish a permanent guerrilla force in this region.

UNITA has chosen to equip its forces mainly with rifles and other light infantry weapons. Artillery support for the conventional battalions and brigades is provided by light mortars and recoilless rifles. UNITA also has captured some SA-7 missile launchers and a few larger artillery pieces from the Angolan Army.

In addition to seizures of arms and ammunition from government forces, we believe the insurgents continue to receive military supplies from South Africa, purchase other weapons on the international arms market, and still have sizable stocks of Western arms supplied in the 1970s.

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South African and Other Assistance to UNITA		
The extent of South African aid to UNITA has been difficult to assess.		25X 25X
leader Savimbi has openly acknowledged that UNITA accepts aid from South Africa. Pretoria, in our view, has seen the UNITA insurgency as a way of keeping Angola's Marxist regime weak and unstable. An apparent increase in Pretoria's assistance to UNITA may also reflect a growing belief among South African officials—particularly in the military—that UNITA can overthrow the regime in Luanda. The South Africans, moreover, value UNITA as an ally in combating the Angola-based Namibian insurgents of the South-West Africa Peo- ple's Organization (SWAPO).	 China provided training to UNITA leaders in the 1960s and furnished substantial quantities of small arms and other supplies in the late 1970s.	25X 25X 25X 25X 25X 25X 25X 25X 25X
South African assistance to UNITA has grown increasingly important in recent years as aid from other sources has fallen off:	All black African countries now have diplomatic relations with Luanda. There is some evidence that Zaire still permits UNITA to operate on its territory, but the extent of this activity is unclear.	25X1
	·	25X
		25X 25X
Government's Weaknesses and Disadvantages Manpower and Tactical Deficiencies. In contrast to UNITA, Angola's 25,000- to 35,000-man Army re- mains plagued by poor leadership, inadequate training, lack of discipline, and low morale.		25X 25X

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Angola's military efforts against the insurgents also are hindered by poor tactics.	have not committed their larger units to battle. Angolan forces continue to do most of the fighting,	25 X
	but further UNITA advances could lead to heavier	25X ²
	Cuban involvement.	
S	Cuban involvement.	25X
substantial portion of the government's forces are tied	Economic and Political Difficulties. The Angolan	
down in defense of fixed positions—bridges, roads,	Government's broad economic and political shortcom-	
and garrisons—threatened by the insurgents. More-	ings also have continued to impede its efforts against	:.
over, the government does not make effective use of	UNITA	25 X 1
its airpower, and UNITA, according to Western	Angola's economic performance—except for	25 X 1
journalists, operates with little fear of air attack.	Western-run oil production in the northern Cabinda	
, in the second of the second	enclave—has steadily worsened in recent years, fur-	25 X
	ther eroding the government's popular standing and	
Problems Created by Rainy Season. UNITA's most	enhancing UNITA's opportunities. Living conditions	
recent gains coincided with Angola's wettest rainy	have fallen to new lows throughout the country over	
season in several years. In general, while UNITA has	the past year, The	25X ²
operated successfully during both wet and dry periods	insurgency has continued to disrupt agricultural, min-	2071
in the past, rains work against the government's	ing, and industrial production, as well as transporta-	
forces. Rainfall makes the country's poor roads even	tion networks. The country still suffers, moreover,	
more difficult for Army truck convoys carrying troops	from the departure in the mid-1970s of the Portu-	
and supplies.	guese personnel who had run most of the economy.	25X
	Soviet and East European economic and technical aid	25 X
	remains far short of the country's substantial needs.	
		25 X
Ine rains also spur vegetation growth augmenting the		
cover available to guerrilla forces and thus increasing	Public support for the government has never been	
their ability to lay ambushes and avoid aerial detec-	very broad. It comes mainly from among the 1.7	
tion.	million members of the Kimbundu tribe and some	25 X
	smaller groups the Kimbundu dominate. Ideological	25 X
Limited Cuban Military Effort. Cuba's military	and ethnic factionalism within the regime has further	
forces have been criticized for years by some Angolan	weakened its ability to combat the insurgents.	25X
officials for not doing more of the fighting	<u> </u>	25X
the Cubans have	We estimate that there are 25,000 to 30,000 Cuban military personnel in Angola. This includes roughly 20,000 combat troops	25X
become more active against UNITA since early 1982.	and 5,000 to 10,000 advisory, support, and technical personnel. The	0574
	bulk of the Cuban forces are stationed in central and southern	25 X 1
	Angola. In addition to their role against UNITA, the Cubans man air and ground defenses along the southern rail line that serves as	
	Angola's main defensive line against South Africa.	25X
		25X
		•
For the most part, however, the evidence suggests to		
us that the Cubans still see their main role as one of		
guarding rear areas and main garrisons.	7 •	OEV
Sourcing four areas and main garrisons.	<u></u>	25X 25X
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Anxiety in Luanda

UNITA's gains since late last year have instilled a sense of crisis throughout the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

UNITA, in fact, has achieved its gains in the face of increased Cuban and Angolan Government military efforts. Starting in late 1981, three additional Angolan brigades and a Cuban brigade were moved to positions facing UNITA's southeastern stronghold. The government also launched several counterinsurgency offensives during 1982, took steps to improve and secure its supply lines, and moved to deny UNITA access to the population in several areas by forcing civilians into fortified villages defended by government troops. The failure of all these efforts to prevent a widening of UNITA operations almost certainly has contributed to the atmosphere of growing concern in Luanda.

Adding to the government's distress,

are the severe economic and social disruptions resulting from the insurgency. In addition, although the oil industry has not been directly affected by the fighting, Angolan officials are worried over growing difficulties Luanda is having in paying for Communist military aid. Revenues from oil exports, the country's primary source of hard currency, have been falling due to the softness of the international oil market. Although available statistics are scanty and contradictory, we believe that Angola in recent years has had to use most of its hard currency earnings to pay for Soviet, East European, and Cuban military

aid and to meet other war-related expenses such as food imports necessitated by the decline in domesti production as a result of the fighting.

As Angola becomes less and less able to pay for military aid, the Soviets will be faced with difficult decisions as to the levels at which such assistance is be maintained. Although Angolan officials may feat that the result could be a cutback in Soviet military aid, we believe that Soviet and Cuban assistance is likely to remain at existing levels or even increase, given Moscow's unwillingness to see a client state down to defeat.

UNITA's Prospects

We believe UNITA may be able to take some add tional territory during the next several months. Its next major gains could come in the northeast, when the Angolans and Cubans do not have a strong military presence

The insurgents, in our judgment, will find it more difficult to make major new gains in southeastern and central Angola in the immediate future. The recent gains in the southeast were made against relatively undefended areas, and any large-scale UNITA expansion from the southeast to the west would bring the insurgents up against major, well-defended Angolan-Cuban garrisons.

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In central Angola, we expect guerrilla attacks to continue at or near their current levels. Although UNITA almost certainly will continue to make life difficult for the Angolans and Cubans in this area, we doubt that the guerrillas can decisively defeat the major Angolan and Cuban forces in the central region during the next few months. Reconciliation With the MPLA? Savimbi has made clear, both publicly and privately, that he wants at a minimum to force the Luanda regime to negotiate some sort of power-sharing arrangement in which UNITA would be brought into a goalities account and the Cubanage and the Cubana	A total Cuban military withdrawal, in our view, probably would paralyze the Angolan Army and enable UNITA to win the war outright unless accompanied by a UNITA-MPLA accommodation. The Angolans depend not only on Cuban combat units that participate in the fighting but also on Cuban advisers and technicians who hold key support and operational positions throughout the Angolan Army—positions for which the Angolans lack trained personnel of their own. If the Cubans withdrew most but not all of their personnel—for example, if they removed the bulk of	25X1 25X1
coalition government and the Cubans would be sent home.	their combat troops but kept most of their advisory and support personnel in Angola—the effect would be more difficult to predict. We believe, however, that if such a withdrawal occurred and there were no UNITA-MPLA accommodation, UNITA would make significant new military gains. Exactly how for the increase to make the description.	25X1 25X1
	how far the insurgents would advance in these circumstances would depend on just what roles the remaining Cubans played—specifically, on whether they assumed combat responsibilities or remained only in advisory and technical capacities—and on the levels of support from the USSR.	25X1 25X6 25X1 25X1
A Cuban Withdrawal? In the absence of some sort of accommodation between UNITA and the MPLA regime, all or most of the leadership in Luanda—hardliners and moderates alike—recognize how vulnerable they would be without the Cubana	We assume that, as part of an agreement providing for a Namibian settlement and a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, South Africa would be asked to curtail its support for UNITA. Even so, we would expect UNITA to remain fairly well armed and supplied and to continue posing a military threat to the Luanda regime if no accommodation were reached:	25X1
Despite the extreme difficulty Luanda would have in agreeing to a withdrawal of all or most of the Cuban forces, we believe there remains some possibility of a breakthrough on this issue, considering the acute economic and military pressures on the dos Santos government and what we know of attitudes within the regime. The Cubans, for their part, have reiterated publicly that they would withdraw from Angola if asked to do so by Luanda.	 We think the South Africans would find a way to continue supplying arms and supplies to the insurgents clandestinely, although probably at a somewhat reduced level since Namibian territory would no longer be available for this purpose. South African supplies might be brought in by air or sea, or via Zaire assuming President Mobutu could be persuaded to acquiesce. Even if Pretoria were to stop providing aid following a Namibian settlement, we believe it would furnish UNITA with large quantities of arms and supplies ahead of time, enabling the insurgents to build sizable caches. 	25X1 25X1
,		23/1

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• UNITA in any case would almost certainly continue to capture munitions and other supplies from government forces.

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Thus, we believe that a withdrawal of most Cuban forces from Angola as a result of a Namibian settlement or some other development—and without an accompanying UNITA-MPLA accommodation—would result in significant UNITA gains and perhaps an outright UNITA military victory. Moreover, we believe this would occur regardless of the level of South Africa's support to the insurgents in the wake of such a settlement.

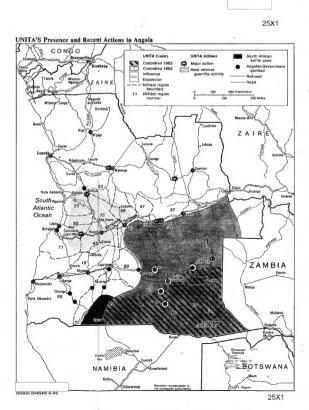
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As UNITA began making new military gains following a Cuban withdrawal, the MPLA, in our view, would probably become anxious for a negotiated settlement. UNITA, however, might well lose interest in negotiations if it believed a complete military victory was in sight.

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Major Tribal Groups

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